l: Karsten--35-36 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
668, 797 (1928-29)

"Although the Canelos Indians are nominally Christians, their relations to the leaders of the mission have not always been of a friendly nature. There have sometimes been conflicts between the Fathers and the Indians. The worst was the one which arose when the present wooden mission building was constructed, some forty years ago. The Indians were of opinion that a bamboo building of the kind commonly used by both Indians and settlers in Eastern Ecuador would be good enough for the Fathers, and consequently refused to construct a wooden house which would demand much time and work. The Indians engaged in a 'strike' of the kind that has not been uncommon among Christian Indians 'reduced' at missions. In Eastern Ecuador this strike is called miticushca which means 'to avoid', 'to keep away'; the Indians, in defiance of the orders of the Fathers, go off to their distant tambos, keeping away from the mission and the duties it imposes upon them. Palati, who had found an opportunity to exert his influence, was the leading person in organizing this strike, agitating and delivering speeches among the Indians and doing his best in exhorting them to avoid the mission. But the continuance of the boycott proved impossible; one family after the other [36] returned to the mission and submitted to the authority of the Fathers. Seeing that he would come off a loser Palati found it convenient to change his attitude in time. One day the Father had succeeded in calling together a number of Indians at the mission, and after the mass was finished he intended to speak to them to bring them to reason. Palati, who

was also present, asked to be allowed to say a few words to the Indians first. Then he started to deliver an exciting oration in which he expressed his strong disapproval of the conduct of the striking Indians, reproaching them for their ingratitude towards the Father, and urging them to return to their duty. He himself, he said, had been against the miticushca from the beginning, but his advice had not been followed. This hypocritical declaration of the man who had been the real instigator of the strike, of course, astonished the Father, and some of the Indians too wished to raise protests against so obvious a distortion of the facts. However, satisfied at the final settlement of the conflict, the Father found it wiser to overlook minor matters. Palati had saved his prestige and even strengthened his influence.

Palati died in 1924, a few years after I left Canelos and South America. He was an interesting acquaintance to me, not only on account of his great age and his wide experience of life but also on account of his whole character, which seemed to me to be typical of an Indian chief and 'politician'."

"During the early part of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing some flourishing missions in the regions east of the Jivaro territory, from which source numerous expeditions penetrated the Jivaro country with the avowed intent of converting them to the evangelical faith regardless of consequences.

In 1656 Don Martín de la Riva Aguero, governor of Cajamarca, organized a company consisting of 100 soldiers and an equal number of Mainas Indians from the missions of the Jesuit father Raimundo Santa Cruz. (38) The expedition followed the left bank of the Marañon to the junction of that river with the Pastaza and here on July 25, 1656, they founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, however, had a brief career. The Jivaro Indians, who were promptly dressed by Father Raimundo in what he considered to be a modest and proper manner, took the first opportunity to flee from the expedition. When they were pursued they killed a considerable number of Spaniards from ambush.

In 1690 Father Lorenzo Lucero, with a small squadron of canoes, made a peaceful enfrance into the Jivaro country, hoping to persuade the Indians to submit to kindness rather than to the use of force. The Jivaros, however, had not forgotten the cupidity of Martín de la Riva and their unhappy experiences with that expedition and Father Lucero was unable to succeed in his attempt."

"38. Chantre y Herrera, p. 176."

2: Stirling--27 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
797

"In the year 1869 the Jesuits were again permitted to return to their old field in eastern Ecuador. Missions were established at Canelos and Macas which had been taken over from the Dominicans. Other establishments were begun at Gualaquiza and at Zamora. In 1869 the Jesuit fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán began their work at Canelos. The following year Fathers Andrés J. Perez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Of the old missions, only Zamora was abandoned. In 1873 militant uprisings of the Jivaros forced the abandonment of Gualaquiza and in 1885 Macas suffered the same fate. On October 4, 1886, the ecclesiastical authority again intervened, and the missions of Macas and Canelos were taken away from the Jesuits and given to the Dominicans, so that the Jesuit order was once more completely out of the Jivaro country.

In 1893 the Franciscans took charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group, who have operated their missions in this territory to the present time.

In the year 1902 the first Protestant mission was established in Jivaro territory when the Gospel Missionary Union of the United States established a mission on the Upano, where it was operated under the direction successively of Mr. Freeland, Mr. Olson, and Mr. Eamigh. At present this mission is located at Chupianza, on the Upano River between Mendez and Macas."

2: Stirling--115
116, 764, 797, 172

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"Since the advent of missionary influence, the Jivaros in some places have been persuaded to bury their dead, which is usually done in the floors of the houses. There is archeological evidence that urn burial was formerly practiced in the Jivaro territory, and Figueroa describes this custom among the Mainas in the seventeenth century."

"The Jivaros have been subjected to Christian missionary influences since shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century. Traces of this can be detected here and there throughout their stories. The story of a universal deluge occurs at such an early date, however, that it may be aboriginal in the region.

The myths of the Jivaros, in common with many other culture traits, appear to have formerly been widespread over a large area.

After stating categorically that the Jivaros do not have any religion, Prieto proceeds to disprove it by saying:

> They know that there is a supreme being, giving him the name of Cumbanama as God, and at other times the name of Neche; but they do not give him any worship or type of adoration. They know that there is a bad spirit, who is the devil, but they say that they like him; they have him always for a friend so that he will be favorable to them in their wars. They believe in the immortality of souls, forming the opinion of transmigration, like some bad philosophies, saying that if the Jivaro who dies has been a man of spirit and courage and one who killed many of his enemies, his soul changes into some brave animal, as a lion, tiger, bear or other of this class; but if the Jivaro who died has been a coward, of little spirit, and has not done any heroic deed, his soul changes into a snake, spider,

toad or some other repugnant [122] animal. Aside from this, they do not worship any deity or adore idols, not do they have any other kind of belief beside the aforementioned.

They are very exact in their traditions, communicating from fathers to sons all the wars, heroic deeds and glorious actions of their grandfathers and forefathers, as can be seen by the circumstantial stories about the lost city of Logroñoand of the city of old Zamora. For proof and in order to be sure their traditions are constant, let it be shown by their opinion of the universal flood. They say that a cloud fell from the sky and that it inundated the land with water; that all the animals were killed and that a Jivaro man and woman fled to a big high hill, where they found a cave in which they shut themselves up with all the animals, and the waters having subsided, they all left and began to reproduce and populate the world. They likewise have a tradition confused with the curse that Noah gave to his son Ham. They say that there was a rich man who had some good sons and one very bad one, who separated from the others, cursing the first. All the foreigners and white Christians descend from the good sons and for that reason have the things necessary for passing through life with much ease and an abundance of riches; but the Jivaros descend from the bad son, and for this reason do

not have axes and machetes, suffer innumerable hardships, and have an extremely miserable life. (32)"

"32. Prieto, in Compte, p. 64."

4: Up de Graff--201-202 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 177, 797

"It is worth noting in passing, that whereas those Indians (of other tribes) who have lived for fifty years under the influence of the priests at the missions I have mentioned, remain to-day in every respect as ignorant and more superstitious than ever, having acquired merely [202] the doubtful benefit of a Christian catechism which they cannot understand (and could not have been expected to), those of their brothers whose domains have been invaded by the caucheros have in the short space of some two years jumped from stone axes to Singer sewing machines, and what is more important, from sheer barbarism to self-respect. The former, as I know from personal experience, shrink from contact with strangers, under the influence of the priests' teaching (as though they feared outside intervention, which might rob them of some of their influence). The latter are deliberately taught the advantages of steel axes and machetes over stone not, be it said, by reason of the philanthropic instinct of the cauchero, but nevertheless with gain to both sides. It remains to be seen whether together with the worldly goods and broader knowledge which they have acquired, there has been left among them the scourge of disease. But at any rate their intellectual progress, and, as far as I could make out, their moral outlook have made far more rapid strides than in the case of their brothers who have fallen under the influence of 'religion.' "

It was not until 1767 that Father Andrès Camacho made a new attempt; it appears that he was on the way to success, when the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies (Pragmatic Sanction against the Society of Jésus: April 2, 1767) (1). The missions were then successively handed over to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. Far from being marked by new conquests, this period was all decadence and disorganization.

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1. Cuantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 574.

While the society of Jésus attacked the savages from the southeast, other missionaries tried to take them in the rear from the west: I am speaking of the Dominicans. In 1581, four Fathers of this order, belonging to the convent of Quito, had penetrated into the basin of the Pastaza: Father Valentin de Amaya had explored the right bank of this river, Father Baltazar Quintana the left bank and its tributaries, Father Diego de Ochoa had ventured into the mountains of the Penday, and Sebastian Rosero into those of Poya (1). [345] A first village by the name of Canelos had been founded the same year with the baptized Indians at the mouth of the Pindo. But harassed by the attacks of the Jíbaros, the Fathers had to change the location twice and finally established it on the spot where it now is, on a little hill which dominates the left bank of the Bobonaza (2). This mission of Canelos, officially entrusted to the Dominicans in 1683 by Charles II, did not progress and in 1778, there were only 22 male individuals in a single village (3), the object of incessant assaults by neighboring tribes, and it would even have disappeared but for the

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1. Probably Puyo, the mountain massil in which the Pindo River has its source.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur. Paris, 1889, p. 134.
3. "Informe del misionero Fr. Manuel Bermeo", 1778, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 278.

arrival of Father Santiago Riofrío who brought it some prosperity. In 1798, thanks to him, it included the three annexed small villages of Nuestra Señora del Rosario or la Palma (173 inhabitants), San Jacinto (37 inhabitants) and San Carlos de los Achuales (36 inhabitants) (4). This mission remained in the hands of the Dominicans until 1803, at which time it was given over to the bishop of Mainas.

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4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

12: Rivet--345-346 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 797

In 1803, the immense diocese of Mainas was set up. It was bounded [346] on the east by the Portugese settlements on the banks of the Amazon, on the west by the base of the Cordillera of the Andes, on the north by the Putumayo, to the south by the Pongo de Manseriche of the Marañon (Papal Bull VII of May 28, 1803). All the Jíbaro territory came under this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which all the existing missions were put. But this attempt at centralization did not last very long, since in 1814 the Dominicans had taken possession of their old establishment of Canelos which then had only 145 inhabitants (1). At this time, the evangelical zeal had cooled singularly. The flame of the apostolate shone only with a feeble light, and if there was still interest in the mysterious eastern regions, it was more out of curiosity or cupidity than because of piety. So it was that more expeditions were organized into the regions of Cuenca and Loja in order to look for the former site of Logroño, in particular in 1788 and 1789, at the instigation of the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. The explorers discovered the ruins of good-sized buildings on the other side of the Cordillera, which ruins they took for the remains of the unhappy city and which were in reality, vestiges of aboriginal construction, perhaps some of those works of defense constructed by the Cañaris in order to protect themselves against the Jíbaros, of whom I have already spoken.

1. "Extracto de un informe del Ilmo Sr. Rangel," 1818, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 339.---Fr. Enrique Vacas Galindo, Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, 3 vol., Quito, 1902-1903, vol. I, p. 370.

The moral picture which I have just quickly outlined, after having studied the customs of the race in detail, shows what a thankless task the missionaries have undertaken and explains to a certain extent the failure of their attempts up to this time. He who understands only Christian doctrines runs head-on into the most deeply-rooted customs of the people. To advise the Jíbaro to forgive injuries, when all his life is dominated by the desire for vengeance, to point out to him the goodness of the Catholic God, when the only thing he respects is strength, to explain to him the idea of being good to one's neighbor, when he only thinks of lucrative pillage from his neighbor, to limit him to a single wife and to make her his equal when for years he has practiced authoritarian polygamy, to oblige this lover of liberty to accept the many subjections of communal life, the constraint of certain rules, to try to make his mind, accustomed only to concrete realities, understand the abstraction of the Christian mysteries and dogmas, that is to ask too much of the savage, too many sacrifices, that is to upset his entire life without giving him sufficient compensation, in a word, it is to undertake a hopeless work, destined to certain failure.

And in fact, the missionaries succeed in nothing or almost nothing. In order to make their neophytes understand them, they are obliged to use their own language, and they have tried to adapt to the Christian conception the words which are used to designate the native divinities. They have made the iguanchi the devil, and tungura hell; but these

words have taken on a new meaning only in the minds of the priests; for the baptized Jíbaro, they have kept their primitive significance. The teachers of the catechism and those being taught do not understand each other, and seem to understand only thanks to ambiguity. So it is that a missionary may rejoice over having heard an old Indian say on seeing a child baptized: "It is a good thing to wash the head in this manner, because it frightens the iguanchi" (1). In reality, Christian baptism is to the savage only an operation of beneficent magic which has been added to the things they already practiced, the priest is only a huishinu who has brought into the Amazonian forest the secret of new formulae for conciliating the divinities and spirits.

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1. Bulletin salesien, February 1898, page 50.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

"The tribe have no outwardly manifested religious beliefs, other than such as may be involved in the cult of the medicine man. Occasionally individuals would be met who had been baptized, as adults, at Gualaquiza, but they were not professing proselytes. The missions founded in various Amazon regions, from the sixteenth century down to the present day, have made little or no real impression upon the Jíbaro, where he has been reached at all by them; (38) but this is scarcely a matter for wonder, in view of the interruptions which they have constantly suffered through the stormy vicissitudes of South American history. 'The first blow to the missions,' says Mozans, (39) 'came when the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish colonies in 1767 by Charles III for reasons ocultas y reservadas. The second was delivered a few decades later by the leaders of the War of Independence, when members of other religious orders were driven from the scenes of their missionary labors. Since then, owing to the constantly perturbed condition of a greater part of the continent and the crippled financial condition of

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"38. Cf. Simson, op. cit., p. 87.
39. M. J. Mozans, work cited in footnote 6, p. 451."

most of the republics, little has been done for the Indians in the vast territories watered by the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their tributaries; and, as a consequence, many tribes that had, under the missionaries, made such notable advances in civilized life, have lapsed into barbarism and returned to their former wild life in the recesses of the forest. Thus, some twenty years ago the Franciscans established a mission, with schools and a medical dispensary, at Zamora, but after a brief existence its withdrawal was forced under the anti-clerical President Alfaro, during whose régime also the Jesuits were deprived of all authority in Oriente."

22: Hamy--387 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

"Father Manuel Castrucci of Vernazza visited them in 1645 on the Pastaza river; Lieutenant Herndon, of the United States marines beginning his exploration of the Amazon in 1854, saw one of their tribes on the banks of the Huallaga river (2); the Bishop of Chachapoyas conducted a Peruvian expedition in the same locality in 1859. Mateo Paz Soldan.... Messieurs Osculati.... Villavicencio.... Bollaert.... Barriero.... Moreno Maiz.... Antonio Raimondy.... Cl.-R. Markham.... have contributed short accounts on the Jivaro. Finally Father Louis Pozzi who is evangelising them at the present time, has just written several letters to the mission of Gualaquiza which contain interesting information...."

"(2) Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Washington, in-8°, 1854, p.174."

/326 cont./

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As in all parts of South America conquered by the Spaniards, the Indians here, too, were forced into slave labor; the exploitation of the gold mines was carried out in a ruthless manner. But the independent forest dwellers did not suffer such oppression with the same patience as the Indians of the high country. A rebellion broke out in 1599, which ended in the destruction of the whole province and even tore the neighboring regions far to the north and south away from Spanish dominion. All the Jívaros joined together for common action under Quiruba, one of their leaders, and the Mácas and Huamboyas were also induced to participate. At the same time the three above-mentioned cities were to be destroyed. Quiruba made a surprise attack on Logroño, destroyed the city, killed all the men falling into his hands, only a few of whom escaped, and made captives of the women and girls, 6,000 in number. Sevilla del Oro and Mendoza escaped the same fate only because of the hesitancy of the neighboring Mácas and Huamboyas. Quiruba himself hurried forth to attack. But the news of his victory had already reached the two cities. The inhabitants of Logroño fled and the abandoned city was left to be destroyed. The battle raged around Mácas. Although the Jívaros were not completely successful in destroying the place and had to yield to the approaching reinforcements, their rebellion had spread such terror that the surviving inhabitants retreated to the highlands, and thereafter, in place of the wealthy Sevilla del Oro, only the tiny spot Mácas could be maintained.

Since all attempts to win back the lost territories by force of arms were unsuccessful, there was recourse to the cross in order to bend the Indians again under the yoke of slavery by this apparently gentle means. The missionaries were successful among some tribes, but the Jívaros turned away all intruders and have maintained their freedom up to our time. Only the small mission of Mácas, inhabited by the Quichua Indians, is located in their territory, and neither the secular clergy nor the Jesuit fathers, who have alternately tried their luck there, have been successful in making converts.

• [747]

/329 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paira and Suñag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language. /330/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived 186 in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos. [487] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail.

Informants were ordinarily well paid for the time they spent. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. Near Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. When visiting strange households it was found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jívaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus my host viewed my continued friendship as being to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

My chief mode of communication to obtain detailed information was through interpreters. However, unlike my predecessors, I exclusively used for this purpose Jívaro men who had learned Spanish as a second language at mission stations. I used a variety of interpreters, eventually working mainly with those who had proven themselves the most accurate, reliable and intelligent. As my own knowledge of the language progressed, I was able to check up on much of that which they interpreted, but even before that stage the comparison of different accounts on the same subject by using different interpreters and informants made substantial veri-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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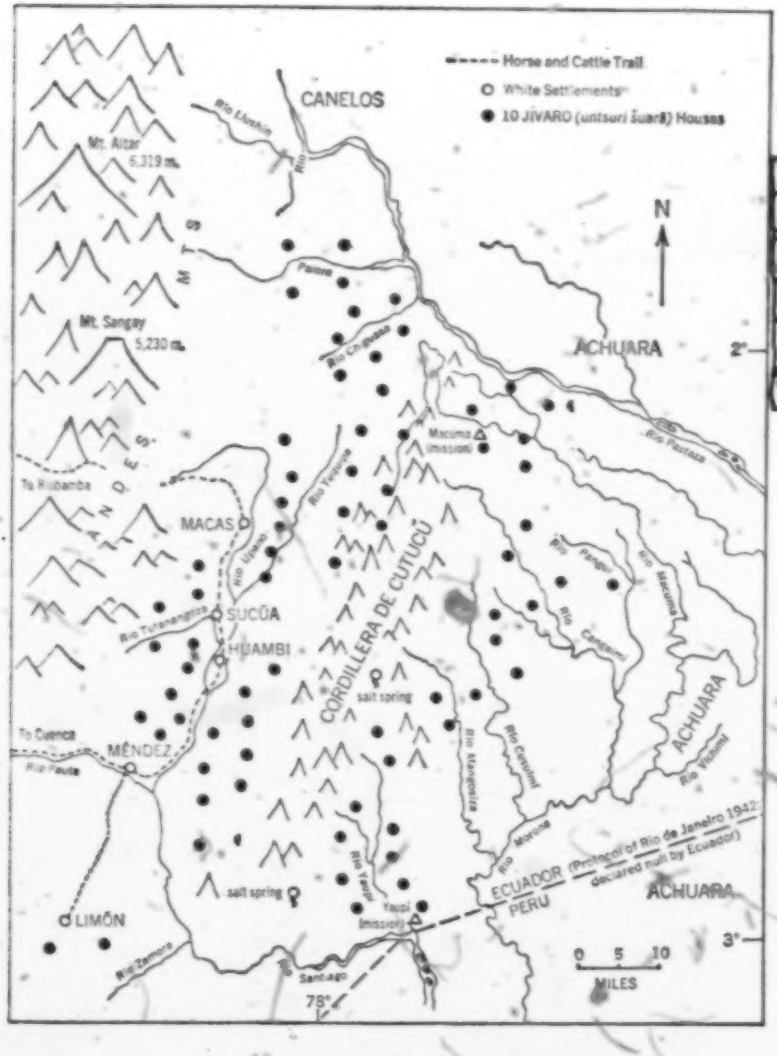

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

scribed as "cities," in 1552: Logroño, possibly at the junction of the Río Paute (and Río Upano) with the Río Zamora; and Sevilla del Oro, probably somewhere on the middle Río Upano.[16]

Although the Spaniards were evidently able to obtain the co-operation of some Jívaro in working the placer deposits, others were hostile. Juan Aldrete reported in 1582:

> They [the Jívaro] are a very warlike people, and have killed a great number of Spaniards, and are killing them every day. It is a very rough land, having many rivers and canyons, all of which in general have gold and in such quantity that the Spaniards are obliged to forget the danger and try to subject them for the profits which they can obtain and which the land promises.[17]

As the Spaniards subjected the Jívaro, they required tribute in gold dust, and increased their demands as the years progressed.[18] Finally, in 1599, the Spaniards' demands culminated in the famous Jívaro uprising described by Velasco:

> The cause of this tragedy is attributed above all else to the excessive greed of the last Governor of Macas; and the opportune occasion for carrying it out was the celebrations of the coronation of Philip III of Spain. In order to understand such a memorable event, one first has to presuppose several points:
>
> (1) That the Indian nations of this [regional] government for the most part still remained, even if not completely, idolatrous and heathenish; because there were here so few men of the Church, laymen as well as priests, who had hardly begun to develop something more than a parish of Indians.
>
> (2) That the Jíbaro nation, very widely spread through many regions, was not conquered . . . except only in part, the main body of the nation remaining without bridle or yoke, scattered in the immense regions of the Morona and its tributary rivers and lakes.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

all of the city was also finished, without scarcely a single man escaping. The encirclement was maintained until the next day, when they extinguished the torches of copal that had burned in all the streets and houses. While they searched for those in hiding, and looted all that they were able to carry, they sent part of the army to the other two cities, in case more help was needed. 175 648 727

Of all the females they had spared, they killed the old and the very young who could only be a burden, and saved the rest for their use. Among this number were almost all of the nuns of a monastery of the Conception founded a few years earlier, because except for the old women who founded it, the rest were young. Before midday they received the news that nothing had been carried out against the capital, because of the failure of the Macas to keep their word. Therefore, they sent more troops, leaving in Logroño those necessary to guard the females and the booty, and to complete the ruin by burning the houses one by one. [562] [797] • 175 648 726

In the capital of Sevilla del Oro, 25 leagues distant, neither was the conspiracy discovered until the morning of the same fatal day. The Macas, being cowards, or rather being loyal to the Spaniards, did not resolve to co-operate; but neither did they have the courage to reveal the secret in time, out of fear of their mortal enemies. Those who were somewhat distant from the capital retired to the forests before the appointed day, and some of those closest to the capital fled into the city with their families, food and belongings, saying that they had learned that the Jíbaros of the Morona were going to destroy the cities and settlements of the government that night; because of that it was necessary for the Spaniards to be called to arms and to prepare a defense.

The number of inhabitants of the capital was great, but the major part useless in the situation, and could only serve as a hindrance. They had many weapons put away since the Conquest, but without maintenance and with very little gunpowder: the cavalry was almost nonexistent, because it was useless in the country: the consternation was excessive; because each one was 175 648

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačï* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuarä* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apačï* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

84.Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the *šuará*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

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new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[28] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[29]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[30] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[33] probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites. As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguasa region.

Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier

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Jívaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jívaro in the same valley.[34]

By 1956, the Jívaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jívaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jívaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jívaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jívaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jívaro

In contrast, the Jívaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956–57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

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ous journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploration project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pangui in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1946. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.[35] At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yaupi, with similar localized effects.

Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had been least touched by white contact in 1956–57 are the ones from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi; the upper Río Cusuimi; the upper Río Mangosiza; and the region between the Río Chiguasa and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 2). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri šuarā* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jívaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jívaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jívaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri šuarā* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jívaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jívaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jívaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the bottomlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jívaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jívaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jívaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jívaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jívaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
648 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will
563 undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from
the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept
721 through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as
the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were
staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the
Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently
determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed
five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most
slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us,
together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march
on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility
and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt
of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land owner-
[178] ship. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely
[433] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[657] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[797] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano
Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white
standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands
are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jívaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jívaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jívaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jívaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*šuarä*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jíbaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jívaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

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fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent effectively the economic interests of the Jívaro within the governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

Still, the Jívaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

In any case, the culture of the Jívaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.